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ABSTRACT

Divided into five sections, this paper traces the journalism career and personal life of Margaret Cousins. In the untitled opening section of the paper, Cousins' attitude about the role of women is explored. The statement is made that her career may be interpreted in terms of hegemony, the theory that the mass media work to encourage a shared value system among all members of society, although that system of values is most beneficial to those at the top. Examples of Cousins's fiction are provided to support these statements. The second section of the paper, "The Sacred Home," explores Cousins's concept of what a home should be and what her household was like. "Early Career," the third section of the paper, chronicles the various positions Cousins held in the field of journalism. The fourth section of the paper, "Conclusion," discusses the implications of Cousins's work and the comments she made after her retirement. Her present home in San Antonio and her lifestyle are described in the final section of the paper, "Retirement." (DF)

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MAINTAINING SEPARATE SPHERES:

THE CAREER OF MARGARET COUSINS

by

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Submitted to the Committee on the Status of Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Memphis, Tennesee, August 3-6, 1985.

In 1965 when Margaret Cousins, then a senior editor at Doubleday, was participating in a radio interview on "The Changing Attitudes Towards Women," she offered this revelation about herself. "Well, I'm a happy woman, I really am a happy woman," she told the interviewer, "and I know that I have missed the most important thing in life for a woman, and that's marriage. And I would have liked that. But since I didn't have that, I'm very grateful to be alive now when I have a chance to live life on the terms that I can cope with."

The moderator responded with some disbelief. "But you don't honestly think that marriage is the most important thing in woman's life, do you?" she asked with a note of incredulity. "Don't you think that's one of the changing attitudes--and perhaps it isn't the only thing, the major thing?"

Margaret Cousins did not answer the question directly, instead, going from the question about marriage to the subject of women in the business world, as if there were a parallel. "I think that most women have to look up to another person," she said, "and I think most women would prefer to look up to a man. Many women in business look up to the man they work for. And I think, some times, selflessness is always the best situation for happiness and that's what this is." 1

For Cousins, looking up to a man had certainly been her personal preference. In her family life, she idealized her

father. In her business life, she had been dominated by Herbert Mayes, who had first brought her from Texas to New York in the '30s to work for him on the Pictorial Review. She subsequently served as his managing editor at Good Housekeeping for fifteen years, and then in the same position at McCalls for three years. Throughout the period, there could be no doubt that her loyalty to her male superior was the dominating force in her career. During her first years at Good Housekeeping, when she was still an associate editor, she had turned down an offer to be managing editor of Harper's Bazaar because it came at a times when Mayes was ill. Later, she resigned from the magazine in protest when he was summarily fired (the Hearst Corporation lured them both back). She wrote on his command, sometimes a story to go with an illustration, once a novel-length manuscript in fifteen days. She joined the editorial board of The Episcopalian, even though she was a Baptist, because Mayes liked his people to become involved in community affairs. When she built her dream home in 1951, it was in an arrangement with the magazine and it was Mayes who handled much of the business affairs. But in 1961 the relationship came to an abrupt end. Mayes was promoted to the publisher of McCalls and passed over her for the editor's job. She was "not even considered."2 The job went to a man.

In the years of her retirement she would still ponder Mayes' decision. "I asked him, 'What have you been training me for all these years.?'"3 She walked out on the day of the decision and, at 56, was for the first time in the years

of her career without her mentor.

No matter how traumatic the experience, it did not change the outlook of a lifetime. In the 1965 radio interview she could still speak of the need to look up to your boss, continued to speak of the benefits of home and hearth in her appearances around the country and, in the '60s, still wrote stories in the style of the women's magazines of the previous decade. It was not so easy to shuck the values of a career that had been spent promoting the importance of marriage and children, even though she had never married and, in fact, spent forty years in New York City in a rich and varied career. Moreover, for more than a dozen years of her working life, she had shared her home with a childhood woman friend.

There is nothing to indicate that Cousins saw any incompatibility in her message about women and her personal choices. Nor is there reason to doubt her sincerity in her message. She did not adjust her values to fit the market place, nor did she maintain a cynical distance between what was necessary to do for a living and her real beliefs. There is every reason to believe that the majority of her beliefs about women were reflected in the mass media world in which she participated at high levels for three decades.

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that her career may be interpreted in terms of hegemony, the theory that mass media works to encourage a shared value system among all members of society, although that system of

values is most beneficial to those at the top of society. Basing his work on Gramsci, Gitlin summarizes: "Hegemony is done by the dominated and collaborated in by the dominated."[4] As he describes it, the "collaboration" comes about unconsciously, most members of society hardly aware they have been shaped in their views by the nation's institutions. Nor are most members of the media aware how their coverage of news events promotes a particular system of values. The "dominated," then, could be interpreted to include the media-shapers, the reporters and editors whose values are used to promote the benefit of those above them. Like their readers, they, too, may hold values that are not beneficial to themselves or those like them.

The career of Margaret Cousins can be interpreted in this context on two major premises. First, her work promoted patriarchy--men as the proper decision-makers--although, as a woman in a patriarchal system, she was not promoted or paid equally with men. Moreover, unlike a reporter who takes, he or she believes, an "objective stance," Cousins promulgated patriarchal values consciously, as an editor of a magazine that made no secret of its editorial stance even as she was deriving no benefits from the values she promoted. Second, her career suggests that despite her obvious talents and discipline she was chosen for positions of power primarily because her value system coincided with the value system of those in command. It is important to note that in hegemonic theory, the reporter/editors are primarily selected to represent the standards of those who control the media.

Thus, an individual selected as a media-shaper may hold values that are not typical or, at least, less flexible, than those who use the media. Indeed, the values of the reporter or editor may have been formed by an aberrational set of psychological and societal factors and have been frozen into place by the media environment and demands of the media position. This aspect of hegemonic theory may help explain why, despite their enormous power to shape attitudes, mass media tend frequently to be out of touch with the world they purport to reflect. The overwhelming response to Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, a book which articulated concerns that had not even been approached by the media, is one example of the gulf between mass women's magazines and the changing values of a signficiant portion of readers.

Cousins' Concept of Women

In 1963 Friedan's book emerged as the founding document in the newest wave of feminism. It spoke to millions of women in its criticism of the world of the '50s. It was particularly critical of the mass women's magazines. Friedan charged that the magazines ignored intellectual concerns in favor of service articles to promote housewifery as a profession. And she condemned the magazine fiction of the '50s, citing it as a major influence in the rise of the cult of "femininity."

> The new mystique makes the housewife-mothers, who never had a chance to be anything else, the model for all women; it presupposes that history has reached a final and glorious end in the here and now, as far as women are concerned.

> Beneath the sophisticated trappings, it simply makes certain concrete, finite domestic aspects of feminine existence -- as it was lived by women whose lives were confined by necessity, to cooking, cleaning, washing, bearing children -- into a religion, a pattern by which all women must now live or deny their femininity. 5

In 1963, after the book had been widely read, Margaret Cousins' short story "The Feminine Mystique" was published in McCalls. (The story had been submitted under the title "Maybelle Bullock and the Feminine Mystique" but an editor shortened the title to that of the book). Although at the time of publication Cousins was working for Doubleday in the position of senior editor, a position that certainly brought her in contact with the changing cross-currents of the time, the short story could not be more typical of the attitudes promulgated by mass magazine fiction of the '50s. Its message was clear: a woman needs a man to take care of her.

Briefly, the story concerns a middle-aged housewife who is made to feel useless by the current feminist rage. She decides to keep a notebook of all her household jobs and their value. (Friedan notes as a typical '50s' theme the idea that "Women can save more money by their managerial talents inside the home than they can bring into it by outside work." 6) The female character in the Cousins story totes up the value of her usefulness and presents a bill to her husband, including $10 for "services rendered."

> "Well," Maybelle said coloring. "I didn't really know what to call it. Everything sounded so vulgar."
> "What?"
> Bill Bullock broke up. He began to laugh and he laughed until he turned beet red and began

to choke. "Honey, you kill me," he spluttered when he could speak.

"I was keeping books," she said. "I had to put everything down."

"You know something,?" he said. "I think it was cheap at the price. As a matter of fact, I believe it's gone up."

"I didn't know anybody to ask," Maybelle said.

"Of course, I have no personal experience with this sort of thing," Bill said. "But from what I hear.. what with inflation and all.."

"Well, I don't mind your having a bargain," Maybelle said. "You could deduct that... after all,it was a kind of mutual matter."

Actually, Maybelle never collected any of the bill, but she hasn't worried about being obsolete since that day. 7

The story, intended to be an ironic statement that takes Friedan to task for underrating the worth of homemakers, instead turns out to be a reinforcement of Friedan's charges against mass women's magazines. The woman character is child-like, unable to make decisions, even ones having to do with her own body, and the tone of the story is less ironically humorous than it is patronizing, a frequent characteristic of Cousins' fiction. The story does not support the concept of the importance of home as much as it promulgates the idea that women are dependent on men.

Cousins and the Patriarchal Ideal

However, the purpose here is not simply to provide more examples to support Friedan's thesis expressed more than twenty years ago, but to ask, now with some historical distance, how and why an independent, sophisticated woman came to write such a story, particularly at a time when the demand for such stories was diminishing? The answer lies in the personality of Margaret Cousins that had as its wellspring a reverence for her father bordering on

idealization.

Cousins' father was a colorful man who had been a cowboy on the Texas frontier, then changed to pharmacy and eventually became the publisher of the Dallas-based regional publication for the drug industry, the Southern Pharmaceutical Journal. She characterized him in a letter to her agent Hal Matson in 1969.

> My father was a truly remarkable man, who loved and honored his profession and gave us respect for it. He was also a literary man, without education except what he has wrestled for himself (one of the best read men I ever knew) and a born writer, a natural liberal and a man of such ethics and sensitivity as rarely climbed off a cow pony and took up the mortar and pestle. (My mother refused to marry a cowpuncher, so he became a pharmacist as he hadn't the time to become a doctor--his ambition). My father was actually a philosopher without knowing it, a scientist without academic education and a humanitarian of high order, with such a charismatic personality that he rose to the top of the profession he adopted, with no qualications except his mind and his heart.
>
> He was also an enchanting father--imaginative, generous and non-possessive--so that my brother and I have had satisfactory lives. 8

In the same letter, she does mention her mother, and throughout her life she mentions her mother with warmth, but usually in terms of her home-making capacity and, as in this extract, in terms of her father. "My mother was a marvelous woman--his opposite--with whom he was deeply in love for 40 years or until the day he died."

She clearly interpreted the relationship between her parents in terms of a romantic perfection, and frequently this ideal was personified in her fiction, particularly her

Christmas stories, in which the father usually was responsible for the transformation of Christmas from the dreary bleakness of reality into a storybook wonderland. Cousins became something of a Christmas specialist in the magazine field; her Christmas stories were frequently republished, in other countries as well as the United States, and she was called upon to write sentimental Christmas greetings for Good Housekeeping and McCalls Christmas issues. One of her most popular stories "The White Kid Gloves" may be most illustrative of this genre. The story has to do with a Depression-era Christmas that, typically, becomes a fairy-tale holiday when the father wins a lottery and thus is able to supply a bicycle for the boy. Then he finds a pair of long, white gloves on sale to delight the girl in the story. Unfortunately, the gloves turn out to be both for the left hand, but rather than being disappointed, the girl chooses to keep the knowledge of the error to herself as a sweet secret.[9]

In Cousins' view the girl's reaction to the mistake is a step towards her role as an adult woman, when she will be expected to support the male ego, even at sacrifice to herself. The girl is thus taking a step into what Cousins views as the appropriate '50's version of the "separate spheres" for men and women. But the fact that the father chose a gift that quite disregarded his daughter's right arm, an oversight the child thought not important enough to mention, may be interpreted in a less sunny way as a metaphor for insufficiency. Cousins' view of her father may have been so idealistic that, even as first-born, she hardly felt

worthy of his mantle. The facts of her biography would seem to support the conclusion that she expected to be treated as second-best because in real life, too, Cousins' brother, Walter Cousins Jr., tended to get the bicycle. Indeed, Margaret Cousins left Dallas for New York in major part to make room for her brother on her father's publication.

She began work for her father in 1927 after graduation from college and became editor of the publication in 1932. In her retirement, she recalled she was underpaid and her father tended to ignore her suggestions in favor of those of her brother.[10] By 1937, however, Walter Cousins Jr. was married and had a child and sought her job. Fortunately, his need for her job came at a time when Herbert Mayes offered her an opportunity to go to New York; that, and an unhappy love affair, encouraged her to cede her editorship on the Southern Pharmaceutical Journal to her brother.[11]

Although her father was undoubtedly the strongest male influence in her early life, there had been similar strong male role models at the University of Texas. She attended the university during the high point of the careers of men such as Frank Dobie. As an editor in New York forty years later, she was asked to critique a book that recalled the careers of such teachers, and prompted these thoughts: "If you didn't have a class with these fellows, you knew them anyway. Mr. Dobie believed in what he called 'lingering,' which meant sitting around somewhere shooting the breeze. (You could meet up with him on the library steps and have a real conversation. He

believed the architecture of the university was all wrong--that it should have been Spanish style with long galleries where people could 'linger.')" The university she recalled "was stuffed with genius."[12]

> Lord, when I think of the men who tried to teach me, I am ashamed I am not better educated. And they were available to us, not just in the classroom, but all the time, every day, without condescension, praise or blame. There is no use pretending their like will ever come again. Their approach to education was the expansion of the human spirit and not the niggardly thing it is now. [13]

To a young woman who already adored her father, the male teaching giants of the university were likely to have seemed as further expressions of male superiority.

Nor should it be ignored that Margaret Cousins was born into a particular male-oriented culture. She was born in 1905 and raised before women had the vote. The secondary position of women in that time anywhere was emphasized by her Texas birth and Southern identification. Texas women, she recalled in another Doubleday memo in 1964, had the least rights as women and the most demands put on them to meet the demands of femininity. "Women, who have the worst deal there in the entire United States, value their femininity above rubies and LIKE to be chattels."[14] Nor were the lessons of Texas survival lost on her. "The land was so difficult and the people were so brave, but one way or another, the land licked the people."[15] It may have been a debt to that part of her Texas heritage that in her New York career, she worked as hard as any pioneer woman. Her considerable

writing output, which included two hundred short stories, juvenile works and adult mystery, was conducted after the demanding hours of a managing editor. She was managing editor of Good Housekeeping when she ghost-wrote Souvenirs for Margaret Truman. She edited Lady Bird Johnson's mammoth White House Diary after her official retirement. Survival was always on her mind and one reason she wrote prolifically was for the extra money because she was always paid less than men. She fought a ten-year battle with her father to earn enough money to live on, and she recalled she was consistently refused pay increases by Herbert Mayes.[16]

By the time she left for New York, then, her personality had been formed by a strong and adored father; by her mother, remembered in terms of a homemaker and wife; by a brother who, by his very name, was considered to be the inheritor of her father's position; by an impressive male faculty at the University of Texas; and by a a western-southern culture in which women stood by, and perhaps slightly behind, their men. Finally, she was undoubtedly affected by an unhappy love affair. Margaret Cousins will not discuss the subject of the young man to whom she was engaged but who married someone else. She agrees it was a factor in her decision to move to New York. However, a poem written before she left, suggests the experience was shattering.

Skoal

There is no wound but it will heal.
Remember this, the day will break
When anguished weeping for the sake

Of those who plunge the careless steel
Relentlessly, will reach its end.
There is no rancor can outlast
The flight of days. However vast
There is no hurt but it will mend. [17]

Two points need to be made about this poem in addition to its obvious merit. First, it was included in the 1935 edition of Texas Writers of Today suggesting that by the time she left for New York, she had already built a regional reputation. Her poems and other work had been published in the Southwest Pharmaceutical Journal and she freelanced for the Southern Druggist. She attracted Mayes' attention when she sent him some poetry for possible publication in the national drug trade journal he edited. (Verse was a life-long interest; she won the university poetry prize before her graduation and even as a Doubleday editor she was called on to critique poetry submissions.) Her successes in Texas meant she could go to New York with confidence in her abiliiies and with skills honed in ten years on a major regional publication.

The second point, however, is in connection with the fatalistic tone of the poem. The poem very well could be interpreted to have the same message Cousins would give to an interviewer many year later. "Girls," she said, "expect too much."[18] She remarked on more than one occasion that "women are unsatisfied because they can't make up their minds about what they want. Actually, they want to have their cake and eat it too."[19] The experiences of her youth suggest she saw women, unlike men, having to make choices, having to close off certain avenues of life. Her growing up

years and young adulthood seemed to have taught her that, although life could be satisfying, it was not as complete for women as for men, who were the decision-makers, the guiders and the teachers. She was 32 when she embarked on her New York career, and, in many ways she was fully-formed.

The Sacred Home

When Cousins left for New York, she left in Dallas a young woman who had been so much a member of the Cousins family that she was to describe her as a "foster sister." Mildred Culbreath is remembered in one of Cousins' early scrapbooks in a newspaper item about her promotion in the drug industry. The newspaper story is the only item in the scrapbook that is not a directly personal memento. Culbreath later joined Cousins in New York and they shared several New York homes together until Culbreath's sudden death from a cerebral hemorrhage in 1951. At the time of her death, the women were engaged in the construction of a home they planned to share in Dobbs Ferry, New York. In their search for an architect for that house, Cousins wrote a character sketch of each of them as a guide to the architect in the design of a house that would suit them. In the sketch, Culbreath is ascribed many traditional male characterisics:

> Very fond of machinery, especially automobiles. Likes to tinker with automobiles on Sunday, wash, polish and fool with motor. Can fix most electrical equipment and is good at handy tinkering of all types. Should have a small workshop if our money holds out. 20

Cousins described herself in traditional feminine ways:

> Loves to eat by candlelight when eating in dining room. Loves a beautiful table with beautiful things on it. Loves food of all kinds--plain and fancy. Loves to feed people and enjoys watching people enjoying themselves. Loves parties and likes entertaining. 21

What is interesting about the descriptions is that they could hardly have been more traditionally male and female if they had described a male-female couple. It is difficult to assess how, or, indeed, if, living in a two-woman household shaped any of Cousins' beliefs about women. It seems strange that with the image of Culbreath constantly before her she should not have given a wider latitude to women's variety. However, the fact that she lived with another woman in a conservative era that devalued women who were not officially claimed by men may have served to reinforce Cousins' sense of not being quite good enough for a male relationship. In terms of her work, her lack of participation in the traditional home of a husband and family meant that the concept of home she promulgated had to be based on the idealized experiences of her childhood. Her life as a career woman in New York was full and exciting but gave her no first-hand knowledge of the lives of housewives for whom she wrote and edited.

Early career

Maggie Cousins arrived in New York in 1937. It was a new beginning, a "great and golden" time when she felt "everything was going to be all right." She recalled, "I remember being permanently sort of hurt, when I heard

Hitler screaming into the microphones as he took over Austria, like somebody kicking down your careful sand castle."[22]

If you had a job, living in New York in the '30s could be cheap. "I used to go to the gallery of any good Broadway show for 55 cents, family circle of the opera for $1.10; full six-course dinner and glass of table wine at a French bistro such as Aux Gay Pinguin 99 cents; excellent large one-bedroom apartment $90 per month; five-day a week maid and cook, $25 per week; groceries about $10 per week with much entertaining. I made $100 a week and lived better than I do now."[23]

She did not make $100 a week immediately, however. By 1938 Pictorial Review had folded. She and Mayes were out of a job. She did not share the news with her family but her father read of the failure of the magazine in Time, telephoned her and suggested she come home. The call seemed to spur her to find a job the next day, one as an advertising copywriter for the Hearst Corporation. In the evenings, she read manuscripts for Good Housekeeping. In 1942, Mayes, by then editor of that magazine, hired her as associate editor. In 1944, she had a chance to go to Harper's Bazaar as managing editor, but turned the offer down because Mayes developed tuberculosis and "the magazine needs me."[24] During the war she performed the job of managing editor while the male editor, John Mack Carter, was in service. Upon his return, he accepted an offer to join the Ladies' Home Journal

and in 1945 she was confirmed as managing editor of perhaps the most influential woman's magazine in the country.

Those were heady days. Her short stories and occasional verse were published regularly. Her first story for Good Housekeeping, "Career Woman," was published in 1939. Her job as managing editor did not preclude her from writing stories for the magazine, for which she was paid extra. She acquired an agent and her fiction began to be reprinted in other countries, particularly Canada and England. By 1944, Ken McCormick of Doubleday, a man she would eventually work for, expressed interest in a potential novel.[25] Simon and Schuster and Knopf also were interested in a novel. Meantime, Hearst Corporation sent her to England to make contact with Hearst clients. She stayed at the Dorchester Hotel and entertained Agatha Christie, who was startled and impressed to find that the American Miss Cousins had managed to procure an egg to accompany their afternoon tea.

In New York, Mayes encouraged his staff to attend public events as a way of representing the magazine. There was, Cousins recalled, an effort to live up to the standards of the magazine. Entertaining well was part of the job. A well-known decorator, William Pahlman, who was to become a friend for life, decorated the apartment she and Mildred shared and it was featured in House Beautiful.[26] The accompanying copy referred to the women as "the girls." However, she could be no "girl" in the world she described as "a busy, fiercely competitive market place" where the editor must "know as many people in all walks of life as possible,

and to make himself as attractive as possible to a broad range of contacts."[27]

"Lifestyle," she wrote, "especially for a woman, becomes important to the editor. It is one of the few ways of attracting modest attention to herself. Most editors make this effort. I always found it more effective to entertain at home, so that I maintained an establishment, with an excellent cook and invited people to my home, which is to me the ultimate courtesy. I never felt comfortable entertaining in the celebrated restaurants such as 21 and the Stork Club, where many male editors made their contacts, unless my authors especially wanted to be 'seen.' I could arrange for this, and I often used the Back Room of the Plaza and the Oak Room of the St. Regis, where I was well and favorably known, and felt I had a background. In the forties and fifties, a woman executive had a good many more problems than now exist, but I still prefer a home atmosphere."[28]

A pretty home was clearly important to her beyond the necessities of the job. Her ability to entertain well became a trademark. Margaret Truman wrote: ""We had a delightful and charming time. You are the most gracious hostess I know and I tried to watch you for pointers."[29] Entertaining in her home was one way to assert her femininity, a tie to her mother ("We always had a pretty home," she told an interviewer in the '60s)[30] and to Texas roots. At any rate, Pahlman had to find a way to work in an arrangement of Texas antelope horns into the decor of the Dobbs Ferry house, and Texas plaques were placed over

the beds in the New York apartment.

The importance she placed on entertainment and decorating in her own home was representative of the almost holy place the home played in her value system. She lapsed into the cadence of the Gettysburg Address when she spoke of the home in a 1961 speech. "It was to make home," she told members of American Institute of Decorators, "that our forebears pushed across the unknown seas and the trackless wilderness and claimed a continent. From these homes have come the men, who in less than 200 years, have brought this nation to an unprecedented level of civilization and the leadership of the world."[31]

Rather less grandiosely, although from the same sense of the sacredness of home, she recommended against Doubleday's publication of a proposed book, "Arlene Francis Talks About Your Home," because, she said, unlike someone such as Dorothy Rogers, Arlene Francis was not a professional in home decorating. She called the manuscript "hack junk, cribbed from the books and magazine articles of other writers." "I would oppose this," she summed up, "because it is a phony on an important subject and I am against gulling the public."[32]

Her emphasis on the professionalism of homemaking was certainly echoed in the editorial stance of the women's magazines of the '50s, which insisted homemaking embraced not one, but several careers under its umbrella. Cousins herself apparently did not believe she had the talent to be a

homemaker on more than an amateur basis. She decorated only her first apartment in New York, but was not happy with the way it turned out and thereafter always employed a professional for the job, even spending $3,000 for the services of a decorator in the late '30s.[33] And while she was renowned for her ability to entertain, she employed a full-time maid from her early days in New York. Yet the readers of the women's magazines were expected to entertain without domestic help and decorate their own homes. Her readers were professional housewives; Cousins provided a professional trade journal. Indeed, she tended to sound like a paid lobbyist in her interviews. "I say you can make no greater contribution than to rear a family with strong, good social values. You know, social values are based on memories of home."[34]

Under the leadership of Herbert Mayes, himself the head of a traditional Jewish home, and with Margaret Cousins as front-line commander, it was not surprising that Good Housekeeping maintained its reputation as a citadel against encroachment on the values of a home.

In the '50s, several of her short stories were adapted for television. A 1953 short story, "The Life of Lucy Gallant"[35] was transformed into a 1955 movie starring Jane Wyman and Charlton Heston and promoted as "a fabulous woman's picture."[36] She wrote juvenile works and edited a collection of Christmas stories. In 1958, the Mayes-Cousins team moved over to McCalls. During her tenure there, Mayes called on her to write a novella and gave her the subject, a

wedding. The assignment may serve to represent the working relationship between Mayes and Cousins. According to her recollection, the novella was to be his insurance in a bidding war for a novel by Anne Morrow Lindberg. If the Ladies' Home Journal outbid McCalls, he planned to "publish the novella he proposed to have me write the same month, with considerable fanfare. My stories had achieved high reader ratings, and he decided to advertise this one to offset the competition."[37]

McCalls did win the war, but Cousins' story "Day of the Wedding" was published first and Lindberg's novel later. The story was published in the July, 1960 issue of McCalls. This was the issue Friedan chose to use as an example of the trivial editorial content of women's magazines.[38]

By this time Cousins knew the market requirements well. She could turn out a magazine short story in one evening's sitting. Despite all that she had written, however, she had made no progress on her novel. It remained an unfulfilled ambition.

In 1961, patriarchy came home to roost. Cousins left McCalls. She was 56 years old, she was not rich, but she had many contacts in the publishing world including Ken McCormick at Doubleday. Doubleday already had plans to publish a collection of short stories to be edited by Cousins. The stories were to be selected from the women's magazines.[39] Cousins had long defended mass magazine fiction. It was her aim that the collection would illustrate that mass

magazine fiction was of a high level. Doubleday had no such ambition. For them, the collection was viewed as a way to tap the surburban market. As Sam Vaughn, a Doubleday editor, noted: "It is my hope that we can do a special concentrated selling effort toward the suburban stores."[40] In promoting the collection, which became titled Love and Marriage, he wrote to booksellers: "This attractive collection might appeal to any number of young married women who browse through your store, looking for something to read that will both entertain and interest them."[41]

To gather the selections, Cousins asked the fiction editors of the women's magazines to recommend their favorites from among the romantic stories they had published. Most were happy to comply, but one fiction editor portended changing times: "Honestly, the love stories we have published have been so happy and sappy that I can't remember them after I have sent them to be copied... I can't point with pride to any that we have done in the happy-sappy group."[42]

Cousins excluded some stories because they were sexually too frank. "I have gone all through Grace Paley and Phillip Roth, and while I get a charge out of their sex, it would be simply impossible for me to recommend their stories to young mothers! An Interest in Life by Grace Paley is a marvelous story, but it's just not consonant with my editorial tradition."[43]

Love and Marriage was published in October, 1961. The Literary Guild used it as a bonus book. Nonetheless,

the book did not go beyond its first printing.

The Virginia Kirkus Bulletin dismissed it. "There are few outstanding short stories in the collecion."[44] It is not an unfair assessment. Although the collection included Irwin Shaw's classic "The Girls in Their Summer Dresses," the women's magazine parentage was all too obvious in most of the stories. Cousins included her own, "The Marabou Crises," a contrived and sentimental story that must have seemed outdated even in 1961. Within the covers of a hardback, the language of the mass magazines was particularly appalling, as in Cousin's story ("His eyes were like the sea on a sunny morning and I fell into them and drowned.")[45] Her story concerned a housewife on a tight budget who splurged one day and bought herself a marabou jacket. She suffers great guilt that is only assuaged when, on Christmas morning, she finds her husband has bought her another marabou jacket, exactly like the one she bought for herself! She chooses never to tell him about her moment of self-indulgence. The message is a typical one: women should not make decisions for themselves; they should be good girls and let their husbands reward them. And, like "The White Kid Gloves," the story involves a small deception that could be interpreted as both child-like and maternal. Either way, the story hardly reflects adult relationships between men and women.

By the time of publication of the book, Cousins had been hired as a senior editor, one of a dozen top decision-making members of Doubleday's editorial staff. She had accepted a

contract that paid her $15,000 a year (down from the $20,000 she received at McCalls) but gave her a three-day work week in order that she could continue writing. Doubleday still sought a novel from her and gave her a generous $10,000 advance. She also received an expense account for the entertaining she was expected to do in the search for new talent. Although she had no experience in book publishing, she brought to the job a keen editorial and practical eye and, importantly, a skein of personal contacts

she had developed in thirty years in the media. It was something of a dream job--certainly there was no loss of prestige. She was at the center of the intellectual currents of the period in an influential position. She was freed from the tyranny of the monthly magazine deadline, freed from the assumptions about the particular nature of he audience that constrained content in mass magazines, and she was no longer under the patriarchal eye of Herbert Mayes. Moreover, she had a book contract in her pocket and time to write her novel.

The novel did not come quickly. Instead, she continued to write for the mass market women's magazines. But although editors were kind and spoke respectfully of wanting to publish "another Cousins story," rejections became more common. Helen Gurley Brown summed up what was a a changing magazine market. In June, 1965, she rejected a Cousins story because "[I]t's more in the traditional women's magazine story style than I'm looking for for Cosmopolitan."[46] In November of the same year McCalls rejected a story because they "found the plot just too farfetched for us."[47]

Despite her editorial eye that was to find, nurture and bring several books to best-seller ranks at Doubleday, she found she could not change her style to meet the needs of a changing fiction market. She wrote in frustration to her long-time agent Harold Matson: "I have come to the conclusion that I won't be able to market short fiction with any of the

new editors of magazines unless I change my whole style and also change my name and go back to a base rate. The fashion in short fiction is now veering toward the New Yorker standards, and even if I wrote a good story in that sort of vein, it wouldn't be bought with my name on it. They don't want the old war horses of the woman's magazine field."[48]

To a colleague she wrote in the same year, "I have given up writing short stories for the present. Every magazine in town has a new editor and nobody knows what they really want and life is too short to find out. The magazine trade seems peculiarly hysterical to me now and I have a feeling that the big mass circulation magazines as we have always known them are really obsolete."[49]

To a fifteen-year-old friend Cheryl Kienholt in Hugo, Oklahoma, she wrote her frankest words, "My short stories are all rather trivial, but I only write to amuse people. I think they need to be amused, and anyway, I cannot think of myself as being very profound."[50]

Doubleday

If she felt herself to be on unsure footing in the fiction market in the early '60s, she found her sea legs quickly at Doubleday. She was among 47 editors at the company, thirteen of them senior editors and six of those woman. Unlike the patriarchal structure of the magazines, the editorial decisions at Doubleday were made cooperatively. Indeed, individual editors could not offer a contract on a book unless it received approval from an

editorial board composed of the senior editors and executives. In order to secure approval for their books, senior editors frequently asked their colleagues to read and critique a book ahead of the Wednesday board meetings. This correspondence from Margaret Cousins to her colleagues is a rich resource in following her attitudes during her years at Doubleday. In addition to her regular duties (and a three-day work week), Cousins read and reported on as many as eighty books a year for other editors.

Once editors had secured approval for a book contract and the finance committee had made financial arrangements, the senior editor worked independently with the author to produce the book. The aim was to have a best-seller, although there was room in Doubleday's list for the occasional production of books that the company believed ought to be published. From the beginning, Cousins felt she had come home. In 1961, she wrote to the woman writer Michael Drury:

> One of the marvelous changes about book publishing is that you <u>can</u> say what you want to and do not have to have the hysterical limitations which come from being unable to discuss anything in specific terms for fear of offending some segment of the population. I can't tell you what satisfaction this gives me, after years of braving compromise. Another wonderful thing is the flexibility of deadlines, which enable you to take your time and think about what you want to say and do without the Sword of Deadline Damocles hanging always above your head. 51

It is interesting that one of her first reactions to Doubleday was her relief at being freed from "compromise." It was a rare criticism of the women's magazines for her, and it was a criticism that did not include in any major way how the women's magazines viewed women. Cousins atttitudes towards women's role remained traditional, even as she was exercising her new freedom from compromise in other areas.

Doubleday did have its own Sword of Damocles and that was the expectation that a senior editor would produce a best seller within three years. One of her early successes was Hurry Sundown, a story about race relations written by the husband and wife team who called themselves K. B. Gibran. Hurry Sundown was a serendipitous publication, providing a best seller for the company as well as allowing Cousins to express her sense of social responsbility. In 1967 Doubleday was offered another "race novel," but by that year civil rights has lost much of its popular appeal. Cousins still recommended publication of the manunscript, although her experienced editorial eye told her it would not sell well.

> However, since sales are not always the criterion, we might render a service by publishing this novel and I believe in that. Only I think the author should be warned about the prevailing attitude toward this subject matter among the masses of readers. It is no so much that people are prejudiced as the fact that they are just TIRED of hearing about it. The subject occupies the front page of the papers so frequently (and often so erroneously) it is impossible to sustain interest at a proper pitch in the average citizen. 52

The following year she sought approval for a biography of black woman Anne Lowe, but she was unable to gain sufficient support in the editorial meeting. She wrote the authors: "I felt that a positive biography about a Negro woman (who is not an actress or a celebrity would be tremendously useful to young Negroes, who seem to me to need this sort of encouragement... However, I have had no luck at selling this book in the house. I have had it read by other editors and beat the drum for it, but the reactions are not encouraging."[53]

Cousins' concern for role models for blacks as a class tended not to be extended to women of all races. Nor was Doubleday ahead of its time. Women were important as consumers of traditional material. In the late '50s, a new strain of women writers emerged, women who wrote humorously of their problems as housewives perhaps best exemplified by Jean Kerr whose Please Don't Eat the Daisies became a best seller. Doubleday appeared to be receiving a flood of manuscripts in this mode when Cousins arrived on the scene. She edited one, This Half of the Apple Is Mine, which did poorly in sales, a problem Cousins blamed on the sales force.[54] She was not encouraging about a manuscript called "I've Only Got Two Hands and I'm Busy Wringing Them" by Jane Goodsell. "It's the kind of book women tell each other about but if it turns out to be five bucks, they just won't spend it."[55] Of Shirley Lucth's "Tenting Tonight, " she wrote: "The problem with books of this nature seems to me to be to sell them to the sales force, who usually look jaundiced and world-weary

at a housewife's efforts." [56]

She was, however, encouraging about a submission from Helen B. Andelin called "Fascinating Womanhood." She thought it might sell to the "non-reader group that we ought to be working with." [57] Her memo on the subject made it clear she did not take the premise of the book seriously, but nor was her ire raised by the attitudes the book promoted.

> I am very glad you asked me to read this book as I am now able to understand why I have never married--it is because I laugh loudly and joke, drink by throwing my head back and wear tweeds.
> Most of the advice here is quite sound on men-women relationships and actually won't hurt anybody since women are very unlikely to be able to carry it out. If they could it would set women back a couple of thousand years, but maybe that's what they need.
> I agree with her on a majority of her points, but know I could never accomplish "bewitching languour." [58]

Although she had expressed pleasure that her new job would allow her to treat many more subjects more directly than she could as a magazine editor, in the women's area she still carried with her a number of the prohibitions from the women's magazines as in this 1963 memo on a proposed book about abortion. "This is a subject which even a mass circulation women's magazine has never been able to get away with. I do not believe that there could possibly be a genuine market for it. I don't believe people who are interested in this subject buy books about it, and people who are not interested certainly won't." [59] Unlike her position on "race novels," she viewed saleability as the key to books aimed at women.

Her traditional mode of thinking about women, reinforced by the years on the women's magazines, was apparent in the series "Women of the World." The series aimed at presenting popular biographies of women who had played a role in the world's history. Just one volume of the series was ever published, The Virgin Mistress: A Study in Survival by Elizabeth Mayor, favorably reviewed by the New York Times Book Review, which quoted from the book jacket to describe the series, The series had to to with "'the lives and times of ladies who have acquired money, power, fame or notoriety through the exercise of feminine wiles.'"[60] Cousins had difficulty in finding first-rate authors to write under this concept. She turned down offers of biographies of outstanding women. ""Actually, the women I really want for this series are not the fine upstanding characters you have named, but the glamour pusses of history who make their mark by twining men around their little fingers. Unfortunately, I feel this category is far more saleable; and since there aren't enough biographies of women around, I thought we could start on these."[61] She rejected a manuscript on Madame Roland by a Columbia University woman professor. "I am afraid it is much too scholarly and the emphasis on the protagonist's intellectual activities too marked for the sort of popular volume we are seeking."[62] Her insistence on the concept suggests that the series may have failed because by the mid-sixties the concept was out of date.

The series faded into the background at a time when

Friedan's book had focused attention on the role of women in society. Despite Cousins' loyalty of the Women of the World concept, there are indications that by the mid-'60s Cousins was beginning to be more aware of how women had been portrayed in media. In a 1965 report on a proposed book about divorce, she is able to look at the women's magazines with some perspective. "When I was in the magazines, we avoided the topic of Divorce as if it were the plague, possibly because nobody could bear to besmirch the image of the American dream--the happy couple with 1/6 of a dozen children of assorted sexes--who bought all those products. (We also avoided other such realities as old age.)"[63]

In the same year she rejected a book about women with a note of resignation. "Unfortunately, I cannot sell it to Doubleday, only because we already have two books on next year's list of similar nature. Doubleday is simply adamant about another book on women. I am very disappointed."[64] And by 1968 she was recommedning the publication of a book by a woman author, although she saw it was not likely to sell. "This is a distinguished and very special little piece of writing. It would have have to be published, I feel, for the purposes of prestige rather than profit."[65]

Also in 1968, now an Episcopalian, she wrote of religion: "The church has never been anything but a temporal organization of men for men's purposes--social, economic or whatever."[66] And in 1970, she was willing to discuss publicly economic discrimination. "I've worked for three publishing companies with three males bosses," she told an interviewer

on a publicity tour for Lady Bird Johnson's book White House Diary, which she had edited. "But when it comes paying comparable salaries they won't do it."[67]

Her sudden surge of speaking out may have resulted in part because by 1970 she was once again a free agent, this time a victim of ageism rather than sexism. When she turned 65, she had been retired summarily from Doubleday, "kicking and screaming"[68] as she put it, because of the organization's mandatory retirement age rule. It was apparently an action that surprised Cousins and most everyone else, particularly as it came after the publication of the latest best seller she had edited, Liz Carpenter's memoir of the LBJ White House, Ruffles and Flourishes. Her retirement came as a shock, too, to her devoted stable of writers, including F. Reid Buckley, who angrily referred to Doubleday as "Doublecross."[69] He would write to his new Doubleday editor, Sam Vaughn, "Maggie, as a human being, is a work of art."[70] In March of 1970, she got this apology from the editor-in-chief Ken McCormick: "Dear Maggie, Thanks for lunch. I want to tell you again how depressed I am at the poor way in which our firm handled such a great contributor to Doubleday's welfare as you. In fact, I'm bitter about it."[71]

Despite the unexpectedness of the retirement, she left the company on good terms with an arrangement to work part time and a pension. Kate Medina, her former secretary, by this time an editor, urged her to continue her novel in her retirement. Doubleday still wanted it.

Cousins had been working on the novel for years now. It was frequently on her mind as this anguished letter she wrote in 1967 to her agent indicates. "I have a large outstanding advance on an overdue novel which I have not written. I have made several desperate efforts on this novel but have never been pleased signficantly enough with the work to show it to anybody. I hope, believe and pray that I will one day produce this manuscript, but I do not know when, but I know too much about novels now to know when one will make the grade."[72]

But before she tackled the novel again, she took on the job of editing the Johnson book for Holt, Rinehart and then, in 1971, became fiction editor of the Ladies' Home Journal. Finally, in 1973 she retired, making it stick this time by moving to San Antonio permamently.

Conclusion

The Doubleday memos indicate that in the decade of the '60s Margaret Cousins, although far from becoming a radical feminist, had become more outspoken in her criticism of male-female financial and role differentials. The '60s, obviously, were years of explosive social change, and it is not surprising that Margaret Cousins was affected to some degree by the changes occurring outside her Doubleday window.

However, the fact that her criticisms did not begin to emerge until this time serve to buttress the thematic framework of this paper. Her somewhat increasing awareness of the status of women came not as an influence from the mass magazines or the book publishing business, but from influences outside of these major media pillars. Although Cousins lived and worked in a city that was the hub of changing thought, she was not ahead of the changes in the country; indeed, as illustrated in her short story "The Feminist Mystique," she examined the changes in cultural values that were occurring nationally in a most superficial way, perhaps the only way that her personality would allow given how her political values were knit into one cloth with her psychological needs. This paper argues that her conservativism was not so much an expression of intellectual conclusion or even self-interest as it was expression of memories and idealizations from the past, the make-up of her personal psyche. Because of the intellectual limitations of

such an amalgamation, Cousins' career, at the very least, can be interpreted as a blow to the conventional wisdom that a journalist shoulld have the ability, in Badikian's wry phrase, to see around the curvature of the earth.

However, it is the contention of this paper that Cousins' career is more than a blow to conventional wisdom, but rather a classic example of hegemony. The writer recognizes that such a conclusion is interpretive, particularly until comparative biographies of those editors in positions similar to that of Cousins can be assembled. Moreover, such a study could address those questions that arise in a nation in which media existence is determined by profit. A full-scale study might address the question of how hegemonic theory accounts for the large number of consumers who must come willingly to the media marketplace if particular media outlets are to remain viable. For example, how did Margaret Cousins' short stories come to have such high readership ratings if Cousins' fiction, as we suggest, represented a personal world that was at odds with reality?

One answer may take into account the role of escapist fiction and its passage from escapism to value formation. Media consumership is shaped by a panoply of values that are not necessarily logical -- habit and expectation, for example -- that tend to support the status quo. Indeed, hegemonic theory may only make sense in a country in which the press is defined by profitability (that is, the choices made by consumers) rather than governmental control when escapism, predictability, habit and other such factors

are included as consumer motivators. Mass media may finally result in promoting the values of the power elite because of a weave of many threads in which the personalities of reporters and editors might figure most prominently without excluding other factors.

In this context, then, changes in the cultural values promoted by media come about when the various threads begin to be broken or replaced only in the face of an overwhelming tide of cultural changes. Media must accommodate at least some of the changes in order to remain profitable. But if media tends to be slow in grasping those changes, the theme of this paper suggests it may be because the threads of cultural values are less likely to be broken when, as in the career of Margaret Cousins, they are buried in the psyche of the reporters and editors who filter the content of media.

Retirement

Maggie Cousins never did write her novel. She gave back the money. Still in San Antonio, she continues to write, however, first keeping up the voluminous correspondene that has been another of her lifetime trademarks. Occasionally, she writes non-fiction and most recently contributed an essay on the University of Texas for a collection published by the University of Texas press.[73]

Her home in San Antonio is a rabbit warren's nest of rooms on the third floor of an apartment building that overlooks San Antonio's Riverwalk. She lives alone, but her maid of 25 years comes daily. She is troubled by arthritis but has been active in University of Texas affairs, enjoys the cultural entertainment of the city and entertains friends from New York and other places. The pictures in her living room include that of William Pahlman, her decorator friend who did this San Antonio flat and now lives in Mexico, pictures of her two secretaries at Doubleday, Kate Medina and Sally Arteseros, whom she mentored into editorships, and an inscribed picture from Lady Bird Johnson. There is limited space in the tiny living room; thus Margaret Truman's inscribed photograph takes second spot under that of Mrs. Johnson's.

She is proud of the success of Kate and Sally, but Kate, she says, has a male secretary from Harvard, and she wonders how she can give orders to him. She couldn't do it. Meanwhile, "Mr. Mayes," as she still calls her former boss, is retired after fifty years of magazine editorship. Her

parents died long before her retirement. Walter Cousins Jr. died in 1981 after a career in the drug trade journals and two terms on the Dallas City Council.

Outside, the San Antonio street is clogged by tourists and filled with dust from a jackhammer. It is like being dropped into the middle of Manhattan. The short and stocky figure of Margaret Cousins, at the age of 78, charges through the noise and heat despite the arthritis, which she accommodates by swinging one leg somewhat out of synch, like Long John Silver in rushhour traffic.

At her favorite restaurant, she is greeted by a chorus of Hi, Maggies. The proprietor comes to her table to discuss the latest progeny of her substantial cat population. A young career woman, seeing her through the window, comes in from the street to talk. Friday is a bad day, Miss Cousins says. Not enough people. Everyone's gone out of town by Friday afternoon. When she moved to the city ten years ago, she knew no one, but wanted to be around young people. She eats a tuna fish sandwich and half of a large piece of upside down cake and talks about her experiences such as seeing Jack Kennedy on the campaign trail and deciding not to vote for him because he took the women's vote too lightly. She has spent a large portion of her life around the rich and famous. Edward Albee was a next-door neighbor when she owned an eighteenth century saltbox cottage in Montauk, New York. But perhaps what she enjoys talking about most now are her growing up years. And the stories about her father slip from her tongue like a litany.

Notes

1. Transcript published in New York Post, April 5, 1965.

2. Interview with author, March 16, 1984.

3. Ibid.

4. Todd Gitlin, The Whole World Is Watching (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 10.

5. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963), p. 43.

6. Ibid.

7. McCalls, June, 1964.

8. Correspondence to Hal Matson, March 10, 1969, Margaret Cousins Collection, uncatalogued, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin. Hereafter abbreviated to HRC.

9. "The White Kid Gloves," American Magazine, December, 1948.

10. Interview with the author, March 16, 1984.

11. Kellyn Rozier Murray, "Margaret Cousins as Short Story Writer and Book Editor: The Volume and Diversity of Her Work," unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, 1976, p. 4.

12. Doubleday memo, September 9, 1965, HRC.

13. Ibid.

14. Doubleday memo, March 26, 1964, HRC.

15. Doubleday memo, April 8, 1966, HRC.

16. Interview with author, March 16, 1984. MC recalled asking for a raise from $20,000 to $25,000 at McCalls and being refused.

17. Florence Elberta Barnes, Texas Writers of Today (Dallas: Tandy Publishing CO., 1935).

18. Miami Herald, March 10, 1964.

19. Doubleday memo in connection with manuscript, "The Unsatisfied Sex," undated, probably 1962, HRC.

20. "Address to Architects," undated, HRC.

21. Ibid.

22. Doubleday memo, January 1, 1965, HRC.

23. Ibid.

24. MC statement, HRC.

25. Correspondence to MC, 1942, 1944, 1946, HRC.

26. House Beautiful, February, 1944.

27. "The Editor's Role," MC statement, HRC.
(MC included statements of various aspects of her career at the time of her donation of collection to HRC.)

28. Ibid.

29. Margaret Truman to MC, undated, probably 1955, HRC.

30. Miami Herald, March 10, 1964.

31. "Home Is the Place," address to Resources Council, American Institute of Decorators, April 18, 1961, HRC.

32. Doubleday memo, May 8, 1964, HRC.

33. MC statement, HRC.

34. Miami Herald, March 10, 1964.

35. "The Life of Lucy Gallant," Good Housekeeping, May, 1953.

36. Newspaper advertising, HRC.

37. MC statement, HRC.

38. Op. cit., pp. 34-35.

39. "Combing the Haystack The Big-Magazine Search for Writers," The Saturday Review, February 17, 1951.

40. Correspondence from Sam Vaughn to MC, August 9, 1960, HRC.

41. Sam Vaughn, memo to booksellers, October, 1961, HRC.

42. Correspondence from Kathryn Bourne, June 6, 199959.

43. Correspondence to Sam Vaughn, August 2, 1960.

44. Virginia Kirkus' Bulletin, August, 15, 1961.

45. "The Marabou Crisis," Love and Marriage (New York, Doubleday, 1961).

46. Correspondence signed "Helen Brown," June, 1965, HRC.

47. Correspondence November 12, 1965, HRC.

48. Correspondence February 3, 1965, HRC.

49. Correspondence May 27, 1965, HRC.

50. Correspondence June 4, 1964.

51. Correspondence November 9, 1961.

52. Doubleday memo, April 19, 1967, HRC.

53. Correspondence, Monica McCall and Etta Wanger, February 9, 1968, HRC.

54. Doubleday memo, October 5, 1967.

55. Doubleday memo, August 9, 1964, HRC.

56. Doubleday memo, October 5, 1967, HRC.

57. Doubleday memo, October 10, 1965, HRC.

58. Ibid.

59. Doubleday memo, October 2, 1963.

60. New York Times Review of Books, October 18, 1964, HRC.

63. Correspondence to Mrs. Paul Nathan, April 4, 1965, HRC.

62. Correspondence to Dr. Gita May, November 19, 1964, HRC.

63. Doubleday memo, October 1, 1965, HRC.

64. Doubleday memo, December 23, 1968.

65. Doubleday memo, May 6, 1968.

66. Doubleday memo, May 24, 1968.

67. Milwaukee Journal, November 1, 1970.

68. MC statement, HRC.

69. Correspondence, April 18, 1970.

70. Correspondence to Sam Vaughn, April 4, 1970, which included a sketch of how Cousins worked with

authors: "Maggie fussed at me, lectured me, guided me, put up with me, deflated my pomposities, encouraged my dreams, gave me the free rein, mothered me..." HRC.

71. Correspondence March 3, 1970, HRC.

72. Correspondence October 20, 1967.

73. Bryan Gardner, ed., Texas, Our Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).